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The following list gives the names of fish most commonly caught by the natives, under the methods used to capture them:

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Hook fishing: Pei, big fish like tuna.
Kahi, tuna fish.
Miro, red fish with white tail.
Tarakuere.
Matahuira.
Kopuku haharoa.
Remoremo, very like the tuna.
Poopoo (Caranx cheilio).
Toremo.
Kanakana.
Kopuku (Acanthistus fuscus).
Papara-uri.
Mahaki (Girellops nebulosus), fished along shore by women.
Nanue, yellow stripes, fished along shore by women.
Ruhi.
Mango, shark, palatable fish in old days; said also to have been speared.
Aku (dorado).
Ivi-heheu, swordfish.
Koiro, conger eel.

Net fishing: Kotea-hiva (Labrichthys fuentesi).
Áture.
Koreva (Pseudomonocanthus paschalis).
Naumata-hauru.
Nohu.
Matuku.
Varevare-pua-toro.

Torch fishing: Marau.
Nohu.
Ihu.
Aku.
Mahaki.

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During winter months—July, August, September—fishing was prohibited by a tapu and fish caught at that time were considered poisonous. This was true especially of the tuna (*kahi*) which was forbidden all the year round except in summer (230, vol. 6, p. 130). According to Roussel (190, p. 428) *kahi* were brought to the king or principal warriors (*mata-toa*). In more recent times tuna were allotted to the owner of the canoe and *pei* fish to his helpers. Several other kinds of fish were reserved for the *ariki*.

During the tapu months only the royal canoe (*vaka vaero*) could be used for fishing, with a crew composed of important men (*tangata-honui*). *Kahi* fished at this time were given to the king and to the oldest *tangata-honui*. Those who ate fish during the winter were under tapu and were obliged to live in separate huts. Even their excrement was considered dangerous and apt to kill people.

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Fishermen had charms which were given to them by the king or the *ariki-paka* (probably priests) and which they kept in small baskets. The amulets were stones shaped like fish or decorated with fish; some of them had bird

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226 forms. Near ahu Mahatua is a stone covered with engraved vulvas (*komari*), called Pu-o-Hiro (Trumpet-of-Hiro) because of a natural hole which can be blown through like a trumpet. Legend says that it stood formerly in Hanga-roa and was brought to its present place by a raiding party of Tupa-hotu warriors. The shaking of this stone brought shoals of fish to the shore.

Angling

Fishhooks

227 Modern natives catch most of their fish by hook. Angling (*hi ite ika*) must always have been important, judging from the abundance of fishhooks which may still be discovered in the caves by the shore. The ancient fishhooks were of stone or bone, the latter being either simple or complex.

Legend says that the natives of ancient times used the thorns of the *ngaoho* (*Caesalpinia bonduc*) for making hooks, but the thorns are too small to have been put to any practical purpose. Composite wooden hooks were made for trade by some natives who asserted that they were authentic reproductions of old specimens.

One-piece Hooks

227 324 [773] **Stone Hooks.** Stone hooks were always of the one-piece type, although the stone point of a fishhook (fig. 11, *a*) in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection seems to indicate that at least one element of composite fishhooks might have been of stone. According to an ancient myth, long ago the natives had only stone hooks, but the fish would never bite (*pakoo*) at them. Hook fishing proved successful only after the fishermen learned from Ure-a-vai-a-nuhe how to make fishhooks from the bones of the dead. (See p. 363). Had stone fishhooks been the valueless implements the myth indicates, the ancient fishermen would not have put so much work and time into their manufacture. The numerous unfinished stone fishhooks and fragments of finished specimens found on the island deny that they were exceptional and intended only for ceremonial purposes. The myth mentions the *kahi* (tuna) as the fish that could not be captured with stone hooks, but we may infer from the name of the stone hook, *mangai kahi* (215, p. 537), that it was made especially for catching the tuna. Either the name of the *kahi* has been introduced in the myth instead of that of some other fish that required a smaller bone hook, or the legend has arisen after the use of stone fishhooks was abandoned.

At the time of Palmer's visit in 1868, Easter Islanders no longer employed stone fishhooks, and perhaps had given up the use of bone hooks too, after becoming familiar with iron fishhooks. Palmer (171, p. 173) says: "They did not offer any fishing lines for sale, and the only hooks we saw

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would make them convenient for polishing wood, but such a use is quite hypothetical. Three rectangular stones in the collection of Bishop Museum (B3546), labeled "idols", may have been fetish stones.

A small boulder in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero, Paris, has a human face pecked on one side (fig. 55, *b*). The nose is on the same plane as the forehead. The protruding eyes are oval with a central round depression representing the pupil. The mouth is weakly indicated. The back surface is rough, as if it had been broken. A similar rough head is figured by Thomson (215, pl. 51, fig. 1) with protruding cheek bones and a large mouth. I saw another small stone suggesting a coarse pounder which had a very rudimentary human figure on the upper side. This was probably also a talisman.

Images for Protection of Houses

The low entrances of houses were guarded by images of wood or of bark cloth, representing lizards or rarely crayfish. The bark cloth images were made over frames of reed, and were called *manu-uru*, a name given also to kites, masks, and masked people. According to my principal informant, there were two of these images, one on either side of the door. Tepano protested violently against the statement of Brown (27, p. 134) that the images housed spirits or *akuaku*. He insisted over and over again that "the *manu-uru* had no significance at all, that they were only ornaments of the house and that nobody but children or women were afraid of them." But one must not discard entirely the possibility that some supernatural power was attributed to the images. Very likely they were believed to protect the dwellers of the house against evil spirits.

Three of these images have been preserved. One is in the Belfast Museum (for description see 214, p. 11, figs. 12-13) and I have examined two others in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (figs. 30, 31) which are made of plaited bundles of bulrush covered with sheets of tapa sewn over the framework and covering it entirely. The eyes and the ears are separate pieces stitched to the tapa covering. The nails are long sticks and the teeth are pieces of bulrush. The conventional style of the wooden images shows its influence in many details: the strongly aquiline nose, the protruding vertebrae and the two bulky malleoli. Tattooing motifs and facial painting have been carefully reproduced on both images (pp. 238, 239).

The large tapa images erected during the *paina* feasts (p. 344) were almost 4 meters high and a man could climb into them. A member of the La Pérouse Expedition (130) saw near an ahu, "the figure of a child two feet long, with arms crossed and the legs hanging down." This description suggests an image of the type described here.

Tepano contended that the wooden lizards were clubs (*paoa*) used to defend the entrance to the house; the same explanation is given by Geiseler (87, p. 37). Certainly wooden images were associated with house doors and their religious significance may be inferred from the fact that when a new house was built, "the wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch" (194, p. 243). Possibly the images were pulled out and brandished like clubs when the village was attacked.

Many wooden lizard images have been preserved in museums in America and Europe (fig. 42, *d*). A few of them are genuine but most are clumsy

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Direct evidence that the corpses of the victims were eaten is given by Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 117) and Geiseler (87, p. 31) who writes as follows:

> The oldest people remember, and still recall, that war prisoners were eaten. When many of them were caught they were shut into huts built for the purpose in front of the stone idols and they were kept in them and fed until the time of festivities of the victory feast. On occasion of such ceremonies the prisoners were killed in honor of the gods and eaten.

Ceremony to Invoke Rain

A faint memory has been preserved of ceremonies performed to invoke rain from the god Hiro. When a drought threatened crops the people resorted to various magic rites and to the *ariki-paka* (noble priests?) who addressed prayers to the god. According to Routledge (194, p. 242), the people anxious to obtain rain first asked the king for help. The king then sent to the scorched fields a younger son and another *ariki-paka*. No reference to this special choice was made by my modern informants, but Estella (79, p. 21) was also told that the king acted as an intermediary between the people and the priest.

The *ariki-paka* who presided over the ceremony were painted "on one side red, on the other black with a strip down the center" (194, p. 242). They went to the top of a hill, taking seaweed (*miri-tonu*) and pieces of drift coral (*karakama*). The magical significance of this offering of things soaked with sea water is obvious. The priest addressed a prayer to Hiro to obtain rain (*he ako hi te ua*, he sang for rain). A fragment of this prayer is still remembered by the natives:

E te ua, mata-val roa a Hiro e,	O rain, long tears of Hiro,
Ka hoa mai koe ki raro,	You fall down,
Ka rei mai koe ki raro,	You beat down,
E te ua, mata-val roa a Hiro e.	O rain, long tears of Hiro.

The natives told Estella (79, p. 31) that the priest remained on the hill where he had made the prayer until rain came, even though he might wait a long time. When the water fell, he descended the hill and ran about so that the rain would follow him and benefit all the land.

Private Rites

Certain rites were observed in behalf of a household or an individual. A new house could not be occupied until suitable rites had been performed and special food eaten in it. The food prepared for this purpose was cooked in a special earth oven and served to the priest in a corner of the new house where he ate alone. There is some evidence that the same duty was likewise incumbent on the king.

Rites for fertility of the fields required priests to bury or spread pieces of coral or seaweed on the plantations. Such charms had a favorable influence on the crop.

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Easter Islanders who wanted to increase their poultry so that they might celebrate a feast (*koro*) had the *ariki-paka* make a charm which contributed to the rapid increase of chickens. When invited to eat chicken meat, the priests received the rump (*huahua*) of the bird.

BIRD CULT

Until the second half of the nineteenth century the annual feast of the bird man (*tangata-manu*), held at Orongo, was extremely important to Easter Islanders. The rites performed were not only connected with the cult of the greatest god of the island, Makemake, but were endowed with special social significance, since ideas of prestige and economic privileges were closely associated with these ceremonies. The ostensible purpose of the ceremony was to obtain the first egg of the *manu-tara* (*Sterna hirundo*, sooty tern), the quest for which was entrusted to servants (*hopu*). The chief whose servant discovered the first egg received the envied title of bird-man (*tangata-manu*). This title, surrounded with tapus, brought to its holder and to members of his lineage certain material advantages and vast moral and religious benefits.

The far-reaching significance of the bird cult is illustrated by the extensive remains at Orongo, one of the most interesting archaeological sites on the island, and by the frequent use of bird and bird-man motifs in all forms of Easter Island art—tablets, wooden images, petroglyphs. The importance of birds in Easter Island culture and the use of birds as the basis for a religious cult are undoubtedly due to the poverty of the island fauna in which birds were the only conspicuous creatures. Not only were they the most interesting living thing next to man, but they contributed thousands of eggs for food.

The bird cult did not die out until about 50 years ago, long after the introduction of Christianity. Almost all recent visitors to Easter Island have studied the bird-man cult. Consequently there is a mass of contradictory material. Routledge, realizing the essential part this cult must have played in the ancient religious and social life, devoted much attention to it, and interviewed the last man who had participated in the ceremonies at Orongo. My information was gained mostly from Tepano, who was well acquainted with some details because his uncle was one of the last bird-men. The information he gave substantiates that gathered by Routledge and adds a few more details.

Orongo

The ceremonies and feasts connected with the bird cult were performed at Orongo, on the slopes of Rano-kao at the southwest point of the island. The village of Orongo lies on the narrow ridge separating the sea from the crater lake. It was temporarily occupied at the time of the yearly feast and deserted the rest of the year.

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FIG. 96.

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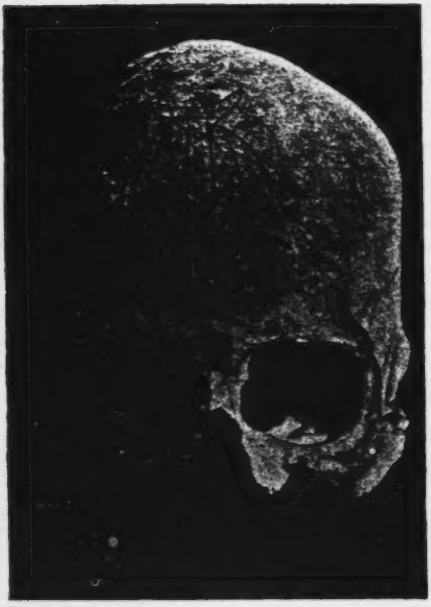

[*Bullerworth*

A MIRU SKULL, WITH INCISED DESIGN.

[facing p. 240]

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796 bottom of which was a gourd covered with a stone to act as a drum.
[534] On the top of this a man danced, being hidden out of sight in the hole.

In other cases, two, or perhaps three, boats were constructed inside the house, the masts of which went through the roof; these boats were manned with crews clad in the garments of European sailors, the gifts from passing vessels being kept as
[533] stage properties. Fresh music was composed for every occasion, and in one song, which was quoted, much reference is made to the "red face of the captain from over the seas." The position of chief performer was one of great honour, being analogous, on a glorified scale, to the leader of a cotillon of our own day. It was stated by an old man that his great-grandfather had so acted, and even the words sung were still remembered. Te Haha, a Miru (fig. 83), gave us to understand that he had been a great social success in his youth, and counted up three koro, and seven haré-até-atua at which he had been present. As he was a handsome old man, and was connected with the court of the chief Ngaara, his pride of recollection was very probably justified. Juan, mixing up, no doubt, recollections of a later date, gave a vivid representation on one of these spots of the pseudo-captain striding about and using very strong language, while he called upon the engineer to "make more smoke so that the ship should go fast."

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The Miru Clan

614 On the border-line, between religion and magic, wherever, if any-
789 where, that line exists, was the position of the clan known as the Miru. Members of this group had, in the opinion of the islanders, the supernatural and valuable gift of being able to increase all food supplies, especially that of chickens, and this power was particularly in evidence after death. It has been known that certain skulls from Easter are marked with designs, such as the outline of
[531] a fish; these are crania of the Miru, and called "puoko-moa," or fowl-heads, because they had, in particular, the quality of making hens lay eggs (fig. 96). Hotu, the Miru, whose mother, it may be remembered, was the victim of a cannibal feast, made his
[523] own skull an heirloom, as "it was so extremely good for chickens," that he did not wish it to go out of the family. His son gave it

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to a relative, who was the father of an old man from whom we managed to obtain it. When the time came to hand it over to us, the late owner began to cling to it affectionately, and say that he "wept much at the thought of its going to England"; as, however, the bargain had already been completed, we remained obdurate, and at the time of writing Hotu resides with Ko Tori at the Royal College of Surgeons.

The Miru were unique in other ways; they were the only group which had a headman or chief, who was known as the "ariki," or sometimes as the "ariki-mau," the great chief, to distinguish him from the "ariki-paka," a term which seems to have been given to all other members of the clan.[1] The office of ariki-mau was hereditary, and he was the only man who was obliged to marry into his own clan. It was customary when he was old and feeble that he should resign in favour of his son. There are various lists of the succession of chiefs, counted from the first immigrant, Hotu-matua. The oldest lists are those given by Bishop Jaussen[2] and by Admiral Lapelin,[3] which contain some thirty names. Thomson gives one with fifty-seven. In our day there was admittedly much uncertainty about the sequence, but the number was said to be thirty,[4] and two independent lists were obtained. All these categories differ, though they contain many of the same names, particularly at the beginning and end.

The last man to fill the post of ariki with its original dignity was Ngaara; he died shortly before the Peruvian raid, and becomes a very real personage to anyone inquiring into the history of the island. He was short, and very stout, with white skin, as had all his family, but so heavily tattooed as to look black. He wore feather hats of various descriptions, and was hung round both back and front with little wooden ornaments, which jingled as he walked. When our authorities can remember him his wife was dead and he lived with his son Kaimokoi. It was not permitted to see them eat, and no one but the servants was allowed to enter the house. His headquarters were at Anakena, the cove on the island where, according to tradition, the first canoe landed.

[1] Evidence on this head was rather contradictory, but no Miru could be found, male or female, to whom the title was not given.

[2] "L'Ile de Paques," M. Tépano Jaussen, *Bulletin Géographique*, 1893, p. 241.

[3] *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, vol. xxxv, p. 109.

[4] Thirty is, however, a very favourite number: cf. the folk-tales.

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the first canoe landed. (It is unique in having a sandy shore, and is surrounded by an amphitheatre of low hills. Behind it to the west rises the high central ground of the island, beyond it, on the other side, is the eastern plain;) it (thus) approximately terminates the strip of land held by the Miru (fig. 97). There are now at Anakena the remains of six ahu, a few statues, and the foundations of various houses. Ngaara held official position for the whole island, but he was neither a leader in war, nor the fount of justice, nor even a priest; he can best be described as the custodian of certain customs and traditions. The act most nearly approaching a religious ceremony was conducted under his auspices, though not by him personally. In time of drought he sent up a younger son and other ariki-paka to a hill-top to pray for rain: they were painted on one side red, on the other black with a stripe down the centre. These prayers were addressed to Hiro, said to be the god of the sky, a supernatural being in whom we seem getting nearer the idea of a divinity, as distinct from a spirit of the dead, and of whom we would gladly have learnt more than could be discovered.

The ariki-paka had other duties besides praying for rain; they made "maru," or strings of white feathers tied on to sticks, which they placed among the yams to make them grow. They buried a certain small fish among the sugar-canes to bring up the plants, and when a koro was being held, and it was consequently particularly desirable that the fowls should thrive, an ariki-paka painted a design in red, known as the "rei-miro," below the door of the chicken-house (fig. 115).

Te Haha, the "social success," who was an ariki-paka in the entourage of Ngaara, gave graphic descriptions of life at Anakena when he was a boy. If, he said, people wanted chickens, they applied to the Ariki-mau, who sent him with maru, and his visits were always attended with satisfactory results.

Ngaara never consumed rats, and one day, coming across the boy watching rats being cooked, he was extremely angry, for it transpired that, if Te Haha had eaten them, his power for producing chickens would have diminished; presumably because he would have imbibed ratty nature, which was disastrous to eggs and young chickens. The Ariki, however, made himself useful to him on occasion. The younger Miru had long hair reaching to his heels, and one day, when he was asleep in a cave, some one cut it

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off. So he went to Ngaara, who told him to bring ten coconuts, which he broke and put in pieces of the sacred tree, "ngau-ngau"; the spell blasted the offender, who promptly died. Ngaara himself attended the inauguration of any house of importance. The wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch, and the Ariki and an ivi-atua, who "went with him like a tatane," were the first to eat in the new dwelling: only the houses with stone foundations were thus honoured. The Ariki was visited one month in the year by "all people," who brought him the plant known as pua on the end of sticks, put the pua into his house, and retired backwards.

He also held receptions on other occasions, seated on the broken-off head of an old image, which was pointed out on a grassy declivity among the hills behind Anakena; these were special occasions for criticising the tattoo. Those who were well tattooed were sent to stand on one hill slope, whilst those who were badly done were sent to another; the Ariki and men behind him laughed contemptuously at the latter (which, as the process was permanent and could not be altered, seems slightly unkind). These receptions were also attended by men who had made boats, and by twins, to whom the Ariki gave a "royal name." Such children were not, as in so many countries, considered unlucky, but it was necessary that at birth they should live in a house apart, otherwise they would not survive. This superstition still exists. Shortly before our arrival a woman in the village had given birth to twins, for whom a little grass house was put up; another woman went in and brought them out to the mother to nurse.

The Script

Closely connected with the subject of the Miru clan is that of the method of writing. While we can only catch glimpses of the image cult through the mists of antiquity, the tablets, known as "kohau-rongo-rongo,"[1] were an integral part of life on the island within the memory of men not much past middle age (fig. 98). The highest authority on them was the ariki Ngaara. It was tantalising to feel how near we were to their translation and yet how far. Te Haha had begun to learn to write, but found that his hand shook too much, besides, as he explained, Ngaara

[1] Sometimes called koho-rongo-rongo.